

PEACE NEWS

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CONCENTRATION CAMPS

A psychologist's view

We invited Dr. Robert H. Thouless, Lecturer in Education in the University of Cambridge, to comment on the issues raised by the reports of atrocities in German concentration camps. His reply appears below. (Dr. Thouless is the author of "Straight Thinking in War-time" and of various books on psychology; he was formerly Lecturer in Psychology in the University of Glasgow.)

SINCE the occupation of Belsen, Buchenwald, and other concentration camps, we know that the cruelties practised in them were worse even than we had imagined. Their ruthless efficiency of savagery shows the depth to which men reared in civilized surroundings can sink. What should, in consequence, be our attitude to the Germans? There seem to be two possibilities.

We may say: "These are the things that Germans have suffered under Nazism. The Nazis taught them to hate democracy. We must teach them that democracy has something better to offer them than the terror of the concentration camps. The Nazis gave them hatred and fear; we must give them love and security."

Alternatively we may say: "These are the cruelties that Germans practised under Nazism. Every German man, woman and child must be held responsible for the horrors of the concentration camp. They suffered harshness under the Nazis; we must show them that democracies can be equally harsh. The Germans are used to being ruled by hatred and fear; let them learn to hate and fear us."

One is a Christian reaction, the other a pagan one. One is a rational reaction; the other an emotional one. There are strong forces acting on public opinion in the direction of making the pagan and emotional choice. I think that the future peace of the world depends on our making the other choice.

P.P.U. STATEMENT ON THE GENERAL ELECTION

Issues that will shape the peace

IN VIEW OF THE DIFFICULTY OF DRAWING UP AN AGREED STATEMENT ON THE GENERAL ELECTION AT SHORT NOTICE, THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION LAST WEEK ASKED A SMALL GROUP TO DRAW UP A STATEMENT FOR PUBLICATION IN PEACE NEWS, SETTING FORTH SOME OF THE ISSUES AFFECTING WORLD-PEACE. THIS STATEMENT APPEARS BELOW.

THERE is obviously no party which, if elected, will introduce policies all of which pacifists will entirely approve. But there are policies being put before the electors which, without being pacifist policies, are very much more likely to lead to peace than the alternatives proposed.

There are also other essential issues, not at present being raised by any of the main parties, which are of the greatest importance in relation to world-peace and which should be brought to the attention of candidates by the electors. What are the main essential steps to be taken now if peace is to be promoted?

It is essential that

1 Many controls in this country should be continued, so that work, food, and houses may be fairly shared. A reasonable income, not 24s.

USE THIS NUMBER

USE this issue of Peace News to get the pacifist point of view into the hands of non-pacifists. The large number of public meetings, which are being held as part of the General Election campaign, provide a rare opportunity. Make the most of it while it lasts! Post Peace News sellers at public meetings. Pass the paper on at the smaller gatherings at which more personal contacts can be made. Distributors and readers who want extra copies of this issue for the latter purpose—i.e., not for re-sale—can have them at a special rate of 9d. per dozen. Order promptly, or you may be disappointed. A special poster is being printed. If you want copies, please say how many.

per week, must be paid to a man who is without work through no fault of his own. Building of houses must take precedence over the erection of non-essential premises.

2 A government should be elected that will give every encouragement to those people and organizations in other countries that are genuinely concerned with the welfare of the people.

3 In determining our standard of life in the future we should not so much be concerned to get back to that standard which we enjoyed before the war as to share with and act justly towards the people in other countries, beginning with Europe.

4 The planning of international trade should not be in the hands of men whose personal interests are involved.

5 Parallel to the War Office, a Peace Office should be established with men appointed to it who would be qualified for the task of improving our relations with other countries, especially Russia.

6 In determining colonial policy, justice and freedom for the people concerned should be regarded as of prior importance. Indian political prisoners should be set free and encouraged to join with other Indians in forming a government.

7 The German people in the British zone should be treated as we would wish to be treated if we were in their situation. How German young people now develop will largely be determined by their economic environment and by our attitude to them.

8 Terms should be offered to the people and government of Japan, so that the war need not drag on until Unconditional Surrender is declared. She should be assured that her position in the family of nations will be considered by an international Council that will include Japanese representatives.

"Iniquity" of bombing of Japanese cities

THE "wholesale bombing of Japan is no less iniquitous than that which took place in Germany," says a statement issued by the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends. "It involves us in the general degradation of western civilization."

"It may stamp upon the Japanese people the military might of the west; it will also stamp upon them the standard of conduct adopted by Christian nations. We do not believe that such bombing will contribute to a peaceful and democratic solution of the problem of the Pacific."

P.N. Pamphlet in Denmark

A copy of the Peace News pamphlet, "Prelude to Planning," by Irene T. Barclay, published in London in June last year, was smuggled from Sweden into Denmark during the German occupation. There it was translated into Danish, published and distributed through underground channels.

These facts became known in London last week.

It's up to us pacifists!

SOME young British prisoners of war were liberated recently in western Germany. They had been for long at a camp in the eastern part of the country. When the Russian armies invaded that area, the Germans evacuated their prisoners at short notice.

Leaving hurriedly, the young British soldiers had to abandon everything except a few of their most treasured possessions. Amongst these was a set of London Matriculation papers. During their long detention they had been studying, and were about to sit for this examination when the Russian armies approached. They were marched 600 miles on foot to their camp in the west, the examination papers with them. Installed in their new prison quarters, they duly sat for the examination! These were young men enlisted in a cause in which they believed. When the day went against them, they never lost heart. They began to prepare themselves against the time when their opportunity for active participation in life would come again.

The end of their story? They were eventually shipped back to London, where they continued to its end that long trek over the snows of Central Europe. Marching together through the streets of London they handed in their completed examination papers. If any of them did not get through after trying against such odds, had they really failed? Those young soldiers reached their goal only by continuous effort. That is how our HQ Fund is built up too; but do we show the same zeal and determination in our Cause?

MAUD ROWNTREE
CORDER CATCHPOOL
Joint Treasurers.

Contributions to HQ Fund since June 1: £20 13s. 6d. Year's total to date: £224 2s. 8d. Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurers at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

SOVIET RUSSIA: the myth and the reality

By JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

IF ever a book were "required-reading" for the seekers of truth and peace today, Arthur Koestler's "The Yogi and the Commissar" (Cape, 10s. 6d.) is such a one. It is written from the depth of a continental experience of Nazism and Communism, without rancour or bitterness, but with urgency. The substance of its message is this.

The menace of Nazism has been dispelled from Europe; but its removal has left a spiritual and political vacuum into which the powers and influence of the new Russia are moving rapidly. The reality and significance of the new Russia are woefully misunderstood. Men's ignorance of the USSR—hermetically sealed from effective contact with the democratic West—is so profound that a myth usurps the place of reality. The myth is that Russia is the one Socialist country in the world and that therefore the expansion of its power throughout Europe is, in spite of all, to the advantage of humanity at large.

Against this misconception Mr. Koestler contends with all his great talents. His damning exposure of the pseudo-Socialism of Soviet Russia is solidly based on a careful and sober analysis of data supplied by the USSR itself—on the official state-

ments of its leaders, on its own decrees and statistics. It seems to me impossible for any mind which retains the power of objective judgment to deny the substantial justice of Koestler's conclusion, after studying his evidence.

"Soviet Russia is a State-capitalist totalitarian autocracy. It is progressive in its economic structure, and regressive in every other respect. Politically, culturally, in the relations between rulers and ruled, it is reactionary compared to most capitalist democracies. It pursues an expansionist policy which, though operating with new methods, reflects the old aims of Imperialist Russia. To the working classes and progressive forces in other parts of the world Russia has no more specific significance than any other Great Power."

Russian methods

The last sentence is an understatement. For Koestler is quick to add two qualifications. First, that Russian foreign relations are more cynically conducted than those of any other great Power, now that the Nazis have disappeared. Secondly, Russia pursues a deliberate vendetta against other foreign parties of the Left than the Communists, partly because of the historic feud between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, partly because it is easier to deal with capitalist Powers and interest groups than with independent working-class movements.

"Since the purges, the Soviet rulers have come to regard as the greatest danger to their international aspirations not the cynics and reactionaries, but the politically conscious Left abroad. With cynics one can always

find a *modus vivendi*; idealists are intransigent, a nuisance and a danger. This goes for individuals as for movements. Consequently, the first preoccupation of the expanding Soviet State was the liquidation of the Left in occupied Poland and the Baltic States."

New ruling class

In Lithuania and East Poland not merely the Left was liquidated, but all politically conscious strata, the intelligentsia and the professional classes—"the leaders and organizers of intellectual, economical, social life, the nuclei of independent thought and action." Under such treatment a nation becomes "a kind of amorphous jelly, reduced to the degree of malleability necessary to adapt herself to the conditions of Soviet dictatorship."

Essentially, the new Russia is a vast State-capitalist society controlled by a bureaucracy-and-technocracy which has now established itself as a highly privileged and self-perpetuating ruling class. The Party has become the monopoly of this class.

Already in 1934 less than 10 per cent. of the delegates to the 17th Party Congress were actual manual workers. Significantly, no figures for the 18th Congress (held in 1939, after the purges) were published; but "with the usual unanimity" the Congress abolished the clauses which safeguarded the proletarian character of the Party. In 1934 the number of delegates whose member-

ship of the Party dated from 1919 or before was 80 per cent.; in 1939 it had fallen catastrophically to 14.8 per cent. The purges were not, as is conveniently supposed, of a handful of disgruntled high-ups, but a vast proscription. "The purging and taking over of the Party by the bureaucracy was the decisive step from the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to the stabilization of the new ruling class."

Koestler draws a striking and depressing comparison between the pre-war period of appeasement of the Nazis by the conservatives and the present period of appeasement of the Soviets by the progressives. The second, he maintains, will be as disastrous as the first, and as likely to lead to unskilled and preventable war. To prevent it, two things are necessary.

First, to recognize the facts of the situation: that Russia is the most dynamic and ruthless nationalist and imperialist Power in existence today, that the balance of European power has now permanently changed, since the centuries-old Germanic domination of Central and Eastern Europe has been destroyed, and that "the demarcation line between the Russian and Western zones of influence has already shifted from the Vistula to the Elbe; from the Black Sea to the Adriatic and Mediterranean, from East of Warsaw to West of Prague." The second is to revive within the

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

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DEMOCRACY ON TRIAL

THE selection of readers' views on pacifists and the General Election which we publish on this page provides evidence of the variety of outlook within the pacifist movement. But pacifism itself goes deeper than the general level of party politics. It is common for those of its adherents who seek to work in the political sphere to have leanings, at least, towards the Left. But others, who have given equal thought to the matter, believe that their proper activity as pacifists lies outside the political sphere altogether. We believe these two streams of thought can be regarded as complementary: the former reminding the latter that right policies, nationally and internationally, require the education of the public as to their desirability—that is, political education; and “non-political” pacifist opinion acting as a check to any temptation on the part of the more politically minded to believe that a new world can be built by political means alone.

But pacifists of both persuasions ought to be concerned with the future of parliamentary democracy in their own land, however unreal they may regard some aspects of it, and however much they believe a more libertarian form of society to be their ultimate goal. Partly because British democratic traditions have remained alive, pacifists themselves have a degree of actual freedom which is rare in the world today. And with the world as it is today, the first British General Election for ten years is more than a clash of personalities, parties, and policies: this time parliamentary democracy itself is on trial.

The strength of parliamentary democracy is really the capacity of the electorate and of the political leaders to behave responsibly. From both is required a clear understanding of what issues are at stake. For both it is easy to see things out of perspective. So far as the political leaders are concerned, the battle of words opened with a deplorable example of Churchilliana. Even *The Times* (June 5) commented: “The motives of those who conscientiously believe that the time to break up the coalition has come will bear inspection,” and said of Mr. Churchill's posing of the Tory paradise versus Labour Gestapo alternatives that “so to represent the issue is but to illustrate the element of artificiality” in this election. The two broadcasts following, by Mr. Attlee and Lord Samuel, made a welcome contrast: they did not descend to the Premier's level of abusive misrepresentation nor did they use rhetoric as a substitute for reasoned argument.

This is where the electorate comes in. Is it true, as some aver, that rhetoric goes down better than reasoned argument, and that people will vote for whoever comes out on top in a slanging-match? Is Lord Beaverbrook right in imagining that the public is so weary of war-time controls that it will respond to a promise of their speedy abolition—without giving a thought to the complexities of a situation in which such action might have disastrous results?

If this election is not to be a repetition of 1918 it is essential for those who know that an irresponsible democracy is doomed to use their personal influence to discourage superficial thinking and misrepresentation. This is a duty of citizenship from which pacifists should not feel debarred. There is another which would seem to fall to them: to ensure, so far as they can, that the questions in which they have for long had a particular interest (especially in world affairs) are not allowed to be forgotten. This is, perhaps, a responsibility which few others are shouldering, and one which even pacifists who feel conscientiously debarred from voting cannot lightly reject.

How should pacifists vote?

The question of the Japanese war

I AM a humanitarian pacifist, holding that the manifest interdependence of all mankind makes imperative ultimate human unity. And yet, holding this faith with religious fervour, and having as it happens, lived and worked among Eastern peoples, I still find that only by an effort of the imagination am I able to establish absolute identity of purpose between myself as an Englishman and those queer, sometimes truculent, unprepossessing (by our standards) yellow humans whom we call Japanese.

If this is the honestly confessed problem of a declared pacifist, how easy must it be for those who are not pacifists and who are now turning their endeavours to the infliction of defeat on the Japanese people to rationalize, by reference to the alleged “superiority” of Western races, the actions they will feel obliged to take against Japan.

Almost without exception, the candidates in the forthcoming Election are pledged to continue the war against Japan. In these circumstances is it possible for a signatory of the Peace Pledge to vote for any one of them? The answer is, surely, a categorical and emphatic “no.”

Let pacifists rather stigmatize this election, by word and action, as the swindle it is; the complete and utter vindication of all that pacifists have always said regarding the perfidious nature of war: diverting, as it does, men's minds away from the task to which they set their hands towards pettifogging domestic issues and leaving uncompleted that which their violence was to consummate—the deliverance and rehabilitation of suffering peoples.

Thos. B. Sanders.

THERE is precious little immediate difference between the Labour and Conservative programmes so far as I can see. In my view there will be no genuine political alignment until the end of the war with Japan when the disastrous consequences of Churchill's foreign policy become plain to see.

So far as the election is concerned, any genuine political work I do will be on behalf of the ILP candidate in Bradford East if he decides to stand, which is in the balance at the moment.

The present is moonshine to make a Grand Slam for Churchill.

A. E. South.

Voted Common Wealth

IN April I was involved in the Chelmsford by-election at which the Common Wealth candidate, Wing Commander E. R. Millington, opposed the legitimate Conservative candidate, Flight Lt. Brian Cook.

I attended meetings of both parties; the Conservative candidate gave a cultured recital of his Tory principles, in all sincerity, promising as a kind of bait his support of various Government White Papers; I heard too, the Common Wealth candidate's courageous opposition to the “official” candidate who was sponsored by Mr. Churchill. I believed Millington to be a fine socialist with a dynamic enthusiasm for his cause, and supported him.

I gave him my vote with the knowledge that he was a bomber pilot—he has said, “Many times I have flown into the Third Reich dropping my cargo of destruction in the name of liberation and liberty.” Absolute pacifists will condemn me and say that the term “misguided” which may be applied to Millington, merely glosses over the true position, or will ask if I want a misguided man to represent me in Parliament. I can only reply that the other candidate appeared to me a hundred times more misguided. But I was not convinced that the apparently negative withholding my vote altogether was a positive solution.

Gladys Price.

The only Liberal?

IT would be of great interest to me to know if I am the only one of your readers who intends to vote Liberal at the forthcoming election. I regard the Liberal programme as the only really reasonable one, and one which follows the traditions of Mill, Spencer and others.

B. Gehrke.

During the last few weeks Peace News readers have been sending us their views on the General Election and the issues it raises for pacifists. A representative selection appears on this page. We are open to receive other short contributions, but the number we are able to publish will be restricted by the many other demands on our space.

A Labour Government the one hope

WITHIN the last few weeks we have seen the break-up of the Coalition and the preliminary moves by the party leaders in the resumption of the game of party-politics. What is the pacifist's responsibility in this situation? Not an attitude of non-attachment, since the result of the election will determine the policy of our society and influence the trend of world history. Nor is it relevant to think and act in terms of social and spiritual revolution. The issues are to be decided in a few weeks.

In most cases, candidates will have to be judged on the record and policy of their parties rather than on personal qualities of integrity or consistency, about which little will be known. What will be known, however, is that both Conservative and Liberal candidates will be pledged to an economic policy which has bred unrest and violence, within the national community and on the international level.

Both parties will seek, albeit with palliatives, to perpetuate a system of private ownership of the means of wealth, production and distribution, which by its structure must also perpetuate social disparity and inequity; which despite social security measures still maintains the essentially wrong relationship between employer and employee, and a national economy which is activated by private interests, not the common good.

This emphasis on private interests will determine that our foreign policy will be in favour of restoring discredited monarchies, or in support of governments favourable to and favoured by British capitalism. This would serve not only to keep Europe divided, but politically frustrated and consequently aggressive. More far-reaching still, it would increase Soviet suspicion of British-American intentions in Europe, thereby ensuring an intensification of Russian defensive-aggressive policy in Eastern and Central Europe.

As an alternative to the capitalist-inspired programmes stand the policies of the socialist parties—Labour, ILP, and Commonwealth—in most constituencies represented by the Labour candidate. Their appeal will be for a new economic policy for this country, the national ownership and control of key industries. Such a policy would go far to remove motives of selfishness and competition from the national economy, and to replace private by public interest in home and foreign affairs.

The outstanding question of foreign policy is that of defeated enemy countries. Can the pacifist support even a Labour candidate who is pledged to the Yalta Agreement? Certainly. The final settlement of Europe does not depend upon Yalta, nor is it likely to be made for perhaps three or four years. By spreading the message of conciliation and justice to the general public, but more specifically within the ranks of organized labour, where the appeal to traditional internationalism will have its greatest impact, the pacifist has a final chance of influencing the peace, a chance greatly improved if the government be one readily influenced by the working classes.

As pacifists, we believe that on the issue of war and peace no half measure is adequate. The same will be true of the economic life of the community after the war. Patching up a discredited capitalism will be disastrous. A Labour Government offers the one hope of a new approach and is, consequently, an end towards which pacifists can work and vote. A refusal to vote, a deliberate spoiling of the ballot paper, is, by default, a vote for reaction and a patching up of that system which has proved so disastrous during the last thirty years.

Bernard Taylor.

Refuse to advocate State-government

PACIFISTS, like other sections of the community, pride themselves on being realists, but they all too often allow themselves to be stupefied by the word “realism.” Today many pacifists who, in the sphere of war and violence, reject the “lesser of two evils” theory, apply the self-same theory to the General Election.

A vote for Labour, we are told, is a better thing than a vote for capitalism, even though, for example, an international armed force is not advocated by the pacifist simply because it is a “better thing” than mere national armed forces.

If we have agreed that as individuals we can have no compromise with our consciences on the question of violence, why should we change our tune in politics? Labour, in its organized form, has very little to do with pacifism today. The party leaders uphold Yalta, accept the power basis of San Francisco, approve industrial conscription on their own terms and maintain a discipline which does not recognize the individual conscience.

Still more important than this, they support a Parliamentary system which is based on assumptions which are the direct antithesis of the pacifist belief.

Can the pacifist support the idea of Parliament? It is a large question for a brief article and I must content myself with assertions. I say “no” to State-government in the same way that I say “no” to war. The only genuine association, I affirm, is the voluntary association.

Why do we in the PPU have no list of rules, no “party line”? Because we believe that, being associated together for a common purpose, we must respect and seek to understand the views of others.

Society as a whole is associated together for a common purpose also—the purpose of living together. Society also must seek out a form of association which gives to each member the right to live, work, speak, read, and think as he sees fit.

Utopian? Unrealistic? Well, where does “realism” get us? Capitalism, we know, only leads us on to greater disasters. Socialism as it is preached and practised today bears little resemblance to the international and libertarian doctrines which made so glorious the idea of a society free from inequality and privilege. Confined within the power-limits of parliamentary democracy it was bound to collapse in this way and to seek instead to maintain its own inequality, its own privilege.

What then should pacifists do? Act as a “ginger movement” in the country, standing fearlessly for the abandonment of violence, for the true international brotherhood, for the society of free men and women. Let us put our forces into proclaiming this creed and not in touting for a Labour movement which has sold its soul to a State-machine.

Only upon such utopianism can the future be built, for the thing which is merely expedient can never lift mankind from the rut of greed and self-interest.

Geoffrey Pittock-Buss.

The Christian Party's advice

A GUIDE to Voters, compiled by G. Norman Robbins, and issued by The Christian Party, says:

“The candidate you should vote for, if he is in your constituency, is clearly one (a) who will work to abolish the present profit-making system; (b) who is opposed to war for any purpose; (c) who is morally upright and has no personal place-seeking ambition. . . . If after consideration you feel you cannot vote for any candidate, go to the poll and state on your voting paper why you cannot vote.”

(The secretary of the Christian Party is: Mr. P. Roberts, 30, Darby Rd., Oldbury, nr. Birmingham.)

"How will they clear up the mess?"

A P.P.U. MEMBER IN DEVASTATED GERMANY

LEONARD PARKER, the former Burnley PPU group secretary now serving with the Friends Ambulance Unit, whose description of conditions in liberated Holland we published on May 4, has now sent the following account of what he saw when his unit moved into Germany. It was written on May 13.

IN a series of rapid moves, we pushed northwards through Westphalia and Hanover, setting up our camps and moving on after four or five days, until now we find ourselves in Hamburg. My impressions are of the magnificent spirit of the French prisoners-of-war after five years of captivity; of the strange, almost animal mentality of the Russians (although I remember the many nights I have listened to them singing, to a balalaika accompaniment, their haunting folksongs); and of such savage destruction of German towns as to be almost unbelievable. I have seen enough of the results of bombing to last a life-time.

Mostly in ruins

The standards of Coventry and Clydeside and London are completely out of date; the question that immediately springs to mind is "How on earth are they going to start clearing up the mess?" Here in Hamburg one can travel all day and see little but the ruined shells of houses and piles of rubble—and this city, according to the Manchester Guardian correspondent, is the least damaged of Germany's big towns.

Europe, from Normandy to Stalin-grad, is familiar with the scene; hardly a bridge standing, transport almost non-existent—although in this connection, it is refreshing to see Hamburg's trams and electric trains running.

They remember

One takes refuge, ostrichlike, in the knowledge that England has known nothing like this; and one looks forward to the time when one's legal responsibilities out here will be finished; but some-one will have to feel a great concern for Germany in the next few years—I hope it will be the Friends. The official attitude of many officers of Military Government leaves me angry and despondent.

Bearing the honoured name of Friends is rather a responsibility, but it has made our job easier in

many instances. We have met scores of people who remember the Quaker food-relief in German schools after the last war, and the respected name has gained us the confidence and co-operation of people who at the first sight of our khaki uniforms had shown little inclination to assist. We made contact with a Lutheran pastor in Westphalia who was a personal friend of Niemöller, and with another local man who was a friend of Albert Schweitzer.

So here we are in the outskirts of Hamburg, where we are helping to run a camp of "Displaced Persons"—ten thousand of them. Our centre in a big German army barracks—the ideal thing for the job—and we can "process" three thousand people a day, with the help of the German staff we have taken on.

The FAU section lives in a charming thatched cottage which for some mysterious reason finds itself in such incongruous surroundings. Lots of trees, the scent of lilac, and a morning chorus of birds help to provide some alternative to "the still sad music of humanity": we can even boast a nightingale in the woods just behind the house.

THE War Resisters' International has found it difficult to maintain many of its contacts during the war years, but already news is coming of former members. Recently Diderich Lund, a Norwegian member of the WRI escaped from Norway and came to England, and after his return to the north of Norway wrote at the request of the WRI a statement now published by them ("Resistance in Norway," price 2d.). It is a revealing and challenging document, particularly valuable in its story of the reaction of pacifists to armed occupation.

The Chairman of the Norwegian Section of the WRI was imprisoned and later died in a concentration camp in Germany; some members embarked

WORDS OF PEACE

No. 129

The disproportion between the quarrels of nations and the suffering which fighting out those quarrels involves; the poor and barren prices which reward sublime endeavour on the battlefield; the fleeting triumphs of war; the long, slow re-building; the awful risks so hardly run; the doom missed by a hair's breadth, by the spin of a coin, by the accident of an accident—all this should make the prevention of another great war the main preoccupation of mankind. It has at least been stripped of glitter and glamour. . . . Next time the competition may be to kill women and children, and the civil population generally, and victory will give herself in sorry nuptials to the diligent hero who organises it on the largest scale. . . .

It was not until the dawn of the twentieth century of the Christian era that War really began to enter into its kingdom as the potential destroyer of the human race; . . . Mankind has never been in this position before. Without having improved appreciably in virtue or enjoying wiser guidance, it has got into its hands for the first time the tools by which it can unfailingly accomplish its own extermination. . . . Death stands at attention, obedient, expectant, ready to serve, ready to sweep away the peoples en masse; ready, if called on, to pulverize, without hope of repair, what is left of civilization. He awaits only the word of command. He awaits it from a frail, bewildered being, long his victim, now—for one occasion only—his Master.

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, in "The Aftermath". (published in 1929).

C.O. HERO ON OKINAWA

"THE bravest man-of-the-week on Okinawa—at least to the 77th Infantry Division—was a conscientious objector: Private First Class Desmond T. Doss, 26, Medical Corpsman and Seventh-day Adventist.

"Private Doss had planned to spend his Saturday (the Adventist Sabbath) as usual—in prayer and meditation. His commanding officer came to his tent and asked if he would forego the privilege that day; Doss happened to be the only corpsman available to a company scheduled to attack an escarpment. Doss said: 'Captain, it is fine with me, but you'll have to wait a few minutes while I read my Bible here.'

"As soon as Doss had finished his reading the attack began. The assault force gained the top of the escarpment, then was driven back by heavy Jap mortar fire. When the company reassembled at the bottom of the hill, Doss was missing.

"Some 20 minutes later he was seen standing alone on the high, bitterly contested escarpment. He signalled that he would lower the wounded to safety. The company commander ordered him to come down, but he paid no attention until he had removed the last of 75 wounded men. Despite disobeying orders, CT Doss last week received special commendation from his divisional commander."

Time (USA), May 21.

TWO VOICES FROM EUROPE

By FRANK DAWTRY

on sabotage and some took up arms with the underground opposition, while others carried non-resistance to lengths of almost complete collaboration.

Lund says that many of his fellow-countrymen adopted a cold and hostile attitude to individual Germans yet willingly obeyed all orders. He would suggest more friendliness to individuals but less obedience to the régime.

He agrees that German and quisling leaders must be punished, though he rules out talk of execution and revenge and still hoped when writing for a negotiated peace to give Germany

a chance to rebuild an independent life, to which our main contribution would be demonstration of the development of a democratic society.

Similarly a second statement made available by WRI should be studied with care. William Sollmann, a former member of the Reichstag and now an American political lecturer, has spoken about the re-education of Germany ("Educational Reconstruction in Germany," price 4d.).

He believes Germany will need a new start as the old Germany has a heavy share of war-guilt but he reminds us that all great Powers have started wars at one time or another. He also mentions the supposed German fondness for regimentation and control and sets against this a few of the revolutionary movements originating in Germany, from Luther to Marx and the modern Youth Movement.

But he admits the German lack of manner in the field of human relations and their dangerous worship of technical efficiency.

How then to re-educate a broken country? The democracies have neither the right nor the personnel to do it and he urges the use of the existing German organizations which did not accept the whole of the Nazi régime—the Social Democratic remnants, the Christian Labour Movement and the Roman Catholic Church. From non-belligerent countries experienced youth-leaders and teachers may be able to go into Germany and some international bodies may be able to send people who will command respect.

Sollmann really wants an International Education Office to be responsible, on the lines of the ILO. As a start, nursery classes can immediately and simply be organized before other normal facilities are ready, and he thinks prisoners of war in Allied hands could be given films and lectures on the democratic way of life.

For the future, Lund pins his hopes on Anglo-Soviet unity to make possible progressive disarmament; without that Norway must still stand aside but with it he thinks she will foster economic groupings to preserve peace. And Sollmann knows that the problem of Germany cannot be separated from that of general world reconstruction. Both in their small way teach us a great deal (above all—objectivity) and no doubt both can still learn a lot from us.

The WRI has performed a service in making these pamphlets available and they are obtainable from the PPU Bookshop, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

A sequel to the peaceful revolution in El Salvador

DEVERE ALLEN, Editor of World-over Press and author of the Peace News Pamphlet, "Non-Violence Goes Latin" (published in March), sends from the USA the following account of developments in El Salvador since his pamphlet was written:

IN May, 1944, the little Central American country of El Salvador electrified all students of Latin American affairs when it staged a revolutionary strike by non-violent means and won a great popular victory.

For five months, the press and people enjoyed freedom and were apparently on the road to democratic politics. But, as observers (myself included) pointed out at the time, non-violent methods require deep understanding and firm experience for consistent victories and cannot be expected to succeed without setbacks. Aided by other dictatorial Central American régimes, a reactionary clique pushed out the new government headed by President Menéndez, who was only a provisional Chief Executive, and set up a new dictatorship under Colonel Osmin Aguirre y Salinas.

The democratic elements took posts in exile, declaring themselves from Mexico and Guatemala, the true government. The dictatorship made an anti-revolutionary defensive alliance with President Carlos of Honduras. Yet in Mexico the exiled "government" of Dr. Miguel Tomas Molina, a popular democrat, occupied the Salvador Embassy without bloodshed, driving out the dictator's henchmen.

Forced by non-violent pressure to give ground, Dictator Aguirre moved to hold an "election" which put in a hand-picked president, Castaneda Castro.

Some relaxation of the dictatorship took place. There was ground for hope that, unsatisfactory as the origins of the new régime had been, liberation was in the offing.

At this promising stage, it became necessary for Washington, however, to isolate Argentina at the Chapultepec Conference, and as a consequence El Salvador, over the protests of Guatemala, was recognized.

Nevertheless, in the curious complexity of Latin American politics, all sorts of internal and external pressures have been exerted on the existing government of El Salvador, and much of this has been self-consciously non-violent. As a result of these factors, the Mexican correspondent of World-over Press has reported that Señor C. Herrera Frimont, Chargé d'Affaires of the Mexican Republic in El Salvador, recently declared, on his return to the Mexican capital, that conditions were improving, not only between Mexico and El Salvador, but inside the latter country.

This may be undue optimism, for labour and democratic elements, according to statements given out by their representatives in Costa Rica, are determined to restore complete popular control, in order to place in the leadership of El Salvador the Party of Democratic Union under its

head, the brilliant young physician, Dr. Arturo Romero.

FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

In addition to all the well-known tactics of non-violence, such as strikes, civil disobedience, boycotts, etc., some of the spokesmen of the unions in El Salvador, who are apparently affiliated with Communist groups throughout the Latin American countries, are emphasizing violent as well as non-violent methods. Future eventualities depend very largely upon the desires of the people themselves, and it must be remembered that the most important factor in the non-military revolution of early summer, 1944, was the unanimous decision of the people to employ non-violent means, together with the remarkable degree of popular solidarity maintained.

At any rate, there are still important elements in El Salvador who place non-violent methods at the top of the list, and they do not believe that they will be able to achieve peace and democracy for their country until a more representative form of government is achieved. In a country under dictatorship for many years, it is certainly something to note the high degree of democratic vigour which exists among the people.

It would be too much to say that non-violence has been the key to all this, but from the time when it was employed in the successful revolution of 1944 to the present moment it has proved a serviceable method, and even when only partially successful, it has made an important contribution to the political advancement of the people.

THE LOST LEADER

*Just for a handful of silver he left us
Just for a riband to stick in his coat
Blot out his name then, record one lost soul more
One task more declined, one more footpath untrod
One more Devil's triumph, and sorrow for angels
One wrong more to man, one more insult to God.
Then let him receive the new knowledge and wait us
Pardoned by heaven, the first by the Throne.*

It is said that Browning wrote this of Wordsworth and regretted in later years having written it. His protest is natural, when one thinks of the young Wordsworth, the French revolutionary, or the disillusioned writer of *The Prelude*, and then later of the respectable Poet Laureate and writer of the Ecclesiastical Sonnets.

After the scathing reviews of the Lyrical Ballads published by Wordsworth and Coleridge in 1798, Wordsworth wrote to a sympathizing friend, "It is a solemn truth that there can be no true appreciation of poetry by those who are, or who are striving to make themselves, persons of consequence in society." It seems certain that when the older Wordsworth himself became such a "person of consequence in society" his inspiration seemed to cease.

The danger may apply not only to successful poets but to successful politicians, and even to pacifists, in the intoxication of popularity. There was a picture in *Punch* of a prim lady looking horrified at the prostrate figure of the jobbing gardener lying amid the ruins of flowerpots in her greenhouse.

"And I thought you told me that you were a strict teetotaler"; the reply came thickly from the prostrate man, "Not strict, Mum."

The rebel

The number of strict pacifists in our public life has been very limited. Even Cobden was afraid of being too closely associated with Friends and the non-resistance principle lest he "be put out of Court as a practical politician." John Bright was against war, but not against the war against the Southern States of America for the emancipation of the slaves. The Cadbury control of the old *Daily News* could not keep it both pacifist and popular.

These reflections should help one a little towards a fair and charitable judgment of David Lloyd George whom many of us thought of forty years ago as the pacifist without fear and without reproach during the South African war. Few men had embodied as he did the ferment and fervour of revolt against the Philistinism of the Victorian Age, with its petty tyrannies of money-power, landlordism, Jingoism, Toryism and clericalism.

He could quote with relish Gambetta's words, "Clericalism, voilà l'ennemi." His lecture "On Bishops in general and the Bishop of St. Asaph in particular"; his rollicking fun "We are indebted to South Wales for coal and curates; I leave it to you to judge which gives us most warmth and light"; his Limehouse railing against the Penguins of finance and all the

little Gods of the Philistines, and his impassioned advocacy of the poor, the oppressed, and destitute, all this "was magnificent; but it was war."

His advocacy as one of the half-dozen in Parliament who strenuously opposed the South African war, both in the House and before angry mobs, made his courage unquestioned. And with the advent to office of Campbell Bannerman, it was Lloyd George who put drive into the generous South African peace, and later into the direct legislation for Old Age Pensions, for Industrial Insurance and the other radical and even socialist measures which Labour and Beveridge Plans have developed. All this again was not strictly pacifism, either in manner or motive; but which of us discerned at that time that wars, like Peace, are first made at home.

It was because of his well-known reputation for pacifism that Lloyd George was put up by the Liberal Government of 1912 to utter the warning upon the Morocco crisis "that peace would be too dear at such a price". That speech (as I heard from a former Chaplain of the Kaiser who was in attendance at Potsdam at the time) finally precipitated the Kaiser into the War Party. But, at the time, how many were dissenters among the 350 Liberal majority who had come into power on the tide of reaction against the South African War?

Actually also he had resigned from the Cabinet in 1914 with Morley and Burns at the brink of war and had re-entered the Cabinet only on the invasion of Belgium. How many pacifists, either then or since, would have held strictly to their pacifism in the event of invasion?

Rightly or wrongly, once committed to war, he was out to win it by all the opportunisms that war demands at home or abroad. If Asquith was muddled or procrastinating, Asquith must go. If Liberals did not see the necessity, then Lord Northcliffe did, and could mobilize opinion at home as

effectively as Lloyd George had mobilized men and munitions. It was *Aut Caesar, aut nullus*. If you are prepared to sacrifice sons for victory, you must not complain if you have to sacrifice friends and colleagues, nor hesitate to make new ones.

The alternative, to one who was a strict pacifist, was not to go out of office but out of politics, unless one was prepared to divide the united front of the nation in imminent peril. It was not that Lloyd George did not see and feel these things. When he was Premier and almost dictator he turned to a friend at Chequers and exclaimed, "Many of my old friends are dead; some are more than dead; they have lost all faith in me. I sometimes feel that I'm the loneliest man in the whole world."

The lot and the life of dictators abroad is not a happy one; Hitler has had his purges, and half the executive of Lenin's dictatorship of the proletariat has perished under the dictatorship of his successor. The lot of democratic Premiers is not an enviable one — Joseph Chamberlain, Lloyd George, Ramsay MacDonald, Neville Chamberlain, how swiftly were they swept into the limbo of Lost Leaders. "The evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones."

Wise moves

In the biography of C. P. Scott there is a chapter, "Trying to save the soul of Lloyd George". The supposition is that Scott, who knew him well, believed he had soul to save. The repetition of the achievement of the Peace of South Africa was at least attempted by Lloyd George in the Peace of Versailles. His Secret Memoirandum to the plenipotentiaries at Versailles in March, 1919, had a wisdom and a magnanimity towards the enemy that we are not likely to see advocated by any Party in the Peace Treaty of the future. That it was frustrated by Northcliffe, and the 203 MPs who telegraphed their dissent to Versailles, who thus placed him at the mercy of Clemenceau, is too often forgotten; but the intention was still there.

"You will say I should have resigned," he said to a friend, "but in the then temper of Parliament and the public it was quite possible that Northcliffe would have been sent to Versailles. All I could do to save the Peace was to make provision in the Treaty for revision when the passions of peoples had died down; but no serious revision was made." In 1935, when taunted in the House for his mistakes in the Treaty, he turned upon his critics and reminded them that no Party in the House at the time had criticized the Treaty except on the grounds that it was not severe enough.

It was the same critics and Parliament who ended his Premiership for his final resolution and renunciation in the cause of peace with Ireland in

Although this article by

GEORGE M. LI. DAVIES

was written soon after Lloyd George's death, pressure on space has prevented its publication until now. But the imminence of the General Election gives a special interest to the author's comments on pacifists and politics, in relation to the career of "Ll. G." whom he knew well.



1921. Democracy elects leaders for right of domination and not for renunciation of rights, and it will continue to do so.

In the matter of reparations and its disastrous consequences at home and abroad Lloyd George was under no illusion. The highest financial experts in England were the illusionists. He was for cancellation of debts all round, and later urged a friend to persuade the Archbishop of Canterbury to raise the matter through the Churches as one of Christian forgiveness, a hope which Lord D'Abernon, the Ambassador in Berlin, also shared. But the Church was in no mood for renunciation nor forgiveness nor reconciliation even in its own sects as the Prayer Book controversy showed at the time.

Last appeal

His last serious plea, in the House and in public at Carnarvon, in 1939, was an eleventh-hour appeal for an international conference to face up to all the economic and other justifications of war, and to show the strength and courage at the Conference Table that we would expect from the millions of young men whom we were sending to the battlefields. The speech was ignored by our democratic leaders, and was in the main omitted from the newspapers.

The way of repentance is hard for a politician, and the path of the peacemaker may lead not to glory but to the grave; for in the end it involves not only repentance in politics but repentance from politics. Kier Hardie had come to see and to confess that in his last year, before he was howled down by his own constituents, George Lansbury came to doubt if any pacifist should ever take office in Government. Even among strict pacifists there seems to be little misgiving about seeking peace by mobilising a majority vote against war or about their own ability to escape intoxication from the heady wine of popularity and power.

Perhaps we should leave Lloyd George where at last he wished to be — amid "the temperate show of objects that endure", his native hills, and sea and river at Llanystumdwy, with the memories of a peasant culture and the simple characters of the countryside whom he loved till the last. And charity, and the thought that we are all men encompassed with weakness, may help us to think of him as Browning did of Wordsworth "Pardoned in heaven, the first by the Throne."

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A naval officer's view of the future

BORN of PENELOPE. By Innes Hamilton. Andrew Dakers, 5s.

I cannot describe this as an important book. If I could only afford one book, I doubt if I should buy it. But if one can borrow it from a friend or a library it deserves to be read. Partly because it is written by a lieutenant in the Navy, largely as a result of his experience during the war. Pacifists in particular should know what such a man's thinking. Partly because he has some good things to say about decent treatment of one's enemy after victory, about education, and about marriage and home life and their relevance to world peace. But most of all it is of interest because of the writer's main argument.

He knows what it is like to be bombed in a defenceless ship—or town. Never again must war be allowed to happen. Our political organization must be such that it is impossible. Which is better, a Union of peoples or a

League of States? The first by far. There are only two possible steps forward in political structure—regional grouping or world federation. The former will lead to a still worse war. It is a matter of life or death (literally) that a world conference be called to set up a world organization, all States renouncing their national sovereignty.

For this to succeed, men must straightaway be less selfish, and adopt a new attitude to each other. A new world educational policy must also in the coming years be adopted.

Such an argument gives rise to questions. Is he right in saying that regionalism must lead to war? Since we have failed to take the step forward that he describes as essential, what is the most hopeful way forward now? Why does he not consider the pacifist way? Would he, if he knew of it now? Have we a relevant pacifist policy to put forward? And, most important of all, how can we get it across to the hundreds of thoughtful, courageous and peace-loving young men in the Forces, like the author, who should certainly play a large part in shaping the post-war world?

The book sets one thinking. I hope it will be read. P.H.F.

What the P.P.U. stands for

This pledge, signed by each member is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union: "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another."

If, after reading Peace News, you would like to know more about the PPU, write for information to: The General Secretary, PPU, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

If you decide that you cannot support this or any other war, it will encourage others and may be helpful to yourself if you join the Union.

The Union stands for the rejection of war, for the method of seeking to overcome evil by good, and for the constant endeavour to create right relationships among men and nations.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

P.P.U. Study column

DISARMING THE ENEMY!

★ THE unilateral disarmament of Germany is not a step which most pacifists will welcome wholeheartedly. It savours too much of the unjust treatment which followed the last war. It is based on an assumption that the so-called "peace-loving" nations are safe from the temptation of aggression and provides an opportunity to cripple German industry over a wider field than that of arms manufacture.

★ YET it would be absurd for pacifists to oppose the disarmament of Germany. Their energies can be better used than in campaigning for armaments for any country! Moreover there is a possibility that imposed disarmament may not be without its good results. Effective disarmament may be a necessary preliminary to a restoration of the Allies' faith in the ordinary German people; nor is that the only factor to be weighed.

★ THE way in which disarmament is supervised will determine how much resentment is sown among the people. It may also foreshadow a possible loosening of "national security considerations" by other Powers.

★ THESE and other important questions are to be considered in the first of a series of study courses which will go to all PPU groups on June 28. See that the issues are discussed with your group.

Questions and suggestions about Study should be sent to Development Secretary, at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

P.P.U. contribution to peace

Abandoning the usual convention of week-end conferences, 17 groups' representatives and a number of individual members from North-East and Yorkshire Areas of the PPU met at Leeds on May 26 and 27 to confer about the PPU's contribution to peace. Geoffrey Tattersall was in the chair.

Many of the groups had considered the syllabus, which raised consideration of the causes of war, possible remedies, and the PPU's contribution to the solution. The discussions were introduced by representatives who made a report on their group's findings. The experiment proved to be very well worth while, and a summary of the conclusions of the conference may be obtained from Will Green at 5 Oriental St., Leeds, 12.

Youth Committee questionnaire

Patrick Figgis writes: "Several weeks ago a questionnaire was sent from the PPU Youth Committee to 400 pacifist teachers, club leaders and Sunday School teachers. So far 35 have replied. I understand how busy such people are; but it will be a help if I may receive other replies as soon as possible."

Indian freedom as an election challenge

Meeting in Premier's constituency

AS part of its drive to bring the demand for Italian freedom to the forefront in the General Election campaign, the Indian Freedom Campaign Committee has appointed an Election Campaign Organizer—Barry Green, who started work last week.

Leaflets for widespread distribution will be ready this week-end; one of them contains an election statement headed "Vote for freedom for 400,000,000." This details the issues of the Indian situation and includes a pledge to stand for Indian freedom which electors are asked to sign and send to their candidates. The price is 1s. 6d. per hundred, postage 3d. extra; order from the IFC Office, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1.

A special pamphlet for speakers and attenders at political meetings is being published, entitled "Hints for Hecklers," and will be available shortly, and a declaration on India's demand for complete freedom, to be endorsed by Indian leaders, is being prepared.

The challenge is being taken into the heart of the opposition to Indian freedom by the holding of a big public meeting in Mr. Churchill's own constituency, Woodford.

Local contacts and affiliated groups are asked to consider holding similar meetings elsewhere.

Full details of the election campaign and copies of all special publications can be obtained from the IFC office, and volunteers are specially required to keep the office open in the evenings during the last two weeks of the campaign for the provision of literature and other help. Supporters are asked to see that the question of Indian freedom is raised at every main election meeting which is being held.

MR. GANDHI'S CREED

Thirty people met in Yarmouth for the PPU East Anglian Area's recent Conference on "Non-Violence."

Gandhi's creed of non-violence was not for India alone, said Roy Walker. His concern for all peoples oppressed by war and imperialism, the success of his methods in overcoming injustice by techniques of good will, the kinship of his philosophy with the world's great religions, and the response his appeal to truth found in the conscience of men everywhere gave him pre-eminence among contemporary spiritual and political leaders. But only by first using to the full the day-to-day methods of service and campaigning provided by the PPU should we be capable or worthy of the method of "dramatized democracy."

The ideals of the PPU were the needs of the common man, said Bernard Taylor. The tradition of peaceful direct action in the British working-class gave substance and relevance to our message.

A SPECIAL JOB FOR PACIFISTS

IN addition to fulfilling the more ordinary obligations of citizenship during an election (such as questioning candidates, recording a vote, etc.) I would suggest that pacifists have a special part that they might play. If the campaign proceeds in the same spirit in which it has begun, it seems likely that there will be a good deal of recrimination, bitterness and even personal antagonism. We should surely be concerned in endeavouring to secure that the election should take place in a different atmosphere altogether, and that this is possible is within my own experience.

Might I suggest that PPU Groups should make an effort to keep the election in their constituency on a friendly level by making their own contribution towards friendliness, good humour and, if necessary, reconciliation, by bringing the candidates together for a meal and a talk, and seeing whether they would accept certain suggestions as to personal attacks, etc., and the general conduct of the campaign.

This might be easier if someone of standing in the town could be persuaded to invite candidates to meet on neutral ground.

STUART MORRIS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Wm. Douglas-Home to oppose Churchill

THE Hon. William Douglas-Home, who fought a war-time by-election as "Atlantic Charter" candidate, is to oppose Mr. Churchill in the latter's own constituency of Woodford.

But he does not intend to hold the usual election campaign. He will issue an election address, setting out his reasons for opposing Mr. Churchill's policy on "unconditional surrender" and other matters, but will not visit the constituency until just before polling day, when he intends to be available on one day only to answer questions.

The inadvertent dropping of a phrase in the italicized passage of our report last week of the Rev. F. D. V. Marborough's speech at the Central Hall meeting made his meaning obscure. What he actually said was: "The vast public outside is only aware of the vast complexity of the situation. I am glad that the public is aware of the complexity, because it means that we are not likely to have a snap election."

PRIVATE SMITH AND PEACE NEWS

PRIVATE SMITH walked into Peace News office last week.

It was one of his first calls when he arrived back in London from Germany, where he had been attached to a Canadian infantry regiment in the 21st Army Group.

The main interest of his visit was this: Private Smith has been getting his Peace News right up in the front line. He is, indeed, the first of our regular readers who have been able to tell us what it is like to read the paper "in enemy territory" and while waiting for an attack. He had some kind words for us which we are too modest to reproduce.

Now he has gone back to Germany. He is appalled at the desolation and at the indifference to it in some high places. But he is also conscious of the immense possibilities of reconciliation which the soldier-ambassador contains.

Now that his war-job of regimental stretcher-bearer is, mercifully, over, he is hoping to bind up some of the moral and spiritual wounds which the German and Anglo-American peoples have inflicted on each other. In that work Peace News wishes him God-speed—and will promise him the best help it can give.

C.O. DIED IN SYRIA

William Allan Wyon (24), died in Syria on May 25 where he was serving with the Friends' Ambulance Unit.

He was engaged on clinical work in Arab villages. So far it is not believed his death had any connection with the fighting in Syria.

ADVISORY BUREAUX

Poplar: individual adviser now Michael Pelham at same address.

Paddington: now Mrs. C. C. Milroy, 13a, Connaught St., W.2.

Barnet: now B. J. Banner, 179 Cat Hill, East Barnet.

Bedford: now Rev. R. C. Horwood, The Manse, Turvey, Bedford.

Hounslow: Austen Smith now 7 Riverside Walk, Isleworth, Middlesex.

New Southgate and Wood Green: now Leonard Melville, 70 Princes Ave., Alexandra Park, N.22.

Wandsworth: individual adviser now Norman Edwards, 32 Alexandra Rd., Wimbledon, S.W.19.

Woburn covering Woburn Sands, Cranfield, etc.: individual adviser Arthur Baynton, 9 Bedford St., Woburn, nr. Bletchley, Bucks.

A message asking for reconsideration or withdrawal of the non-fraternization order was issued on June 1 by the Meeting for Sufferings, the executive body of the Society of Friends.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.

TERMS: Cash with order. 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

ACCOMMODATION

SCHOOLTEACHER, returning London, anxiously seeks unfurnished flat, own kitchen. Suit 2 ladies. Preferably S.E. Box 995.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian. Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44.)

LAKE DISTRICT. Holiday caravan to let (2-berth), 30s. weekly. Attendance (if needed) by arrangement. Box 985.

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FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. (PRI. 5686.)

FOR SALE & WANTED

WAR RESISTERS' International would welcome gifts of foreign stamps, for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

PROJECTORS, microscopes, binoculars, etc., for sale and wanted. Mention "Peace News." Appleton, 141 Middleham Rd., N.18.

STREAMLINED 14-ft. trailer caravan for sale; double and single beds, oil cooking; practically new. £250. "Walden Acres," Wokingham Rd., Hurst, Reading.

WANTED URGENTLY: bicycle for C.O. for work. Murray, Radnage, High Wycombe. Phone. Radnage 110.

DUTY-FREE CIGARETTES of any popular brand may be sent to British Forces abroad—200 for 5/6d., 500 for 13/6d., 1,000 25/- including postage. Send orders to W. Benkel, 288 Regent St., London, W.1., mentioning Peace News.

LAND & COMMUNITY

GOOD RENT PAID for 15-40 acre holding suitable dairying; good house; adequate capital; keen worker; S.W. counties preferred. Box 973.

LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

DUKE OF BEDFORD: "Post-war Plans"; Fritz Gross: "Curing Nazism"; John Hogan: "Max Plowman, Artist"; Illustrated "Christian Party News-Letter." 5d. 30 Darby Rd., Oldbury, Birmingham.

40,000 second-hand books on religion, psychology, philosophy, sociology, fiction, biography. Also church vestments. Lists 21d. Books of all kinds bought. Send list. Kingdom Books, East Mersea, Colchester, Essex.

WINNING THE PEACE—all the political parties have their programmes—but all ignore God's programme. Has God forsaken the world or has the world forsaken God? Write for free literature, mentioning this subject, to Christadelphian, 28 West Rd., Bedford, Middx.

LET the British People Lead the world, says the Oriental Post, 3d., by post 4d. from 27A Sale Place, London, W.2.

MEETINGS, &c.

EDMONTON P.P.U. welcome all to social, Tottenham Friends' Meeting House, Sat., June 16, 6.0 p.m.

LONDON FORUM. Director, Frederick Lohr. Public lecture by W. W. Couper: "Being and Space." Mon., June 18, at 7.30. Chancery Theatre, Clareville St., South Kensington.

MANCHESTER P.S.U.—Conference "Pacifist Service in Peace-time." June 22, 7.30 p.m. F.M.H., Mount St. Donald Port, Ken Wood-roof. All welcome.

EAST BIRMINGHAM Discussion Group: Special visit of J. R. B. Branson ("Grass For All" etc.), Mon. June 25, at 7.45 p.m., at Acocks Green Methodist Church Par-sonage, Shirley Rd. (entrance, Botteville Rd.).

FREEDOM PRESS Defence Committee: open meeting, Holborn Hall Room 4, Grays Inn Rd., Holborn, W.C.1., on Sun., June 17, at 7 p.m. Report of progress and announcing the formation of a permanent Freedom Defence Committee, with a statement of constitution and aims. Speakers: Preston Clements, Derek Holmes, Mat Kavanagh. Admission free.

PERSONAL

STUART MORRIS. We are glad to announce that Stuart Morris, for eight years a member of the W.R.I. Council, is available to undertake speaking engagements on behalf of the War Resisters' International. Applications to be made to W.R.I. headquarters, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

RENDALL DAVIES—On Tues. May 16, 1945, at University College Hospital, London, to Beryl and Trevor Rendall Davies a daughter (Branwen).

JOIN Victory Correspondence Club, 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11., for congenial pen-friends.

CATHIE!—All love and best wishes from your loving husband.—Col.

MAKING HISTORY! Councillor J. C. Dempsey is standing in the Kettering Parliamentary Division as an Independent and Christian candidate at the coming election. Help in money and service urgently needed. Particulars, personal, principles and programme on application to the Dempsey Election Committee, Rothwell, Kettering.

JOAN and Herbert Lomax happily announce birth of a son Colin, June 8.

SITUATIONS VACANT

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applicants in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O.s, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

GOOD HOME, and remuneration, offered to young woman or widow, age 30-40 as companion and help to mother with young family, on pleasant small farm near Basingstoke. Interests knitting or needlework, country walks, fond of children, and happy disposition. Write first. Box 994.

ASSISTANT MATRON or Domestic helper wanted now in small co-ed. school. Communal life, democratic basis, wide scope anyone interested progressive education. Free-mountain, Bacton, Hereford.

THE INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTARY SERVICE FOR PEACE are urgently in need of adults for services from July to September. Work undertaken includes harvesting, forestry, building construction and decorating. Food and accommodation are provided. Full particulars are obtainable from The Secretary, 1 Lyddon Terrace, Leeds, 2.

THERE is a vacancy in a High School in Kenya for a Christian pacifist teacher. Details from the C.B.C.O. Employment Section, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

VACANCY MAY OCCUR in the near future in social welfare work in this country for man with fluent German. Details from C.B.C.O., Employment Section, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

STONE BOWER FELLOWSHIP (a home for unwanted old aged pensioners) unlimited by the cash nexus and therefore believing in the principle of voluntary service needs extra helpers. Cook and Assistant House-Mother and Gardener-Handyman. Maintenance and pocket money and the opportunity to "give" real service in a Christian Community Service Scheme. Write to Warden, S.B.F., Burton-in-Lonsdale, via Carnforth, Lancs.

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FARM MANAGER'S or Bailiff's position required by energetic young farmer on mixed farm. Good cottage essential. Varied experience. Excellent references. Thistlethwaite, Snowford Hall, Hunningham, Leamington.

VIVIENNE SHARP, 4 The Scarr, Newent, Glos., veg. food reformist, 29, requires post where on 15 months welcome. Cooking experience and care children.

CAPABLE EXPERIENCED cook-housekeeper (female) desires post in progressive co-educational school or youth hostel. Preferably country. Box 997.

GARDENER-HANDYMAN, bachelor, 51, now small-holder in North, seeks regular whole or part-time situation South Devon—West Cornwall coastal area. Very moderate wage if accommodation provided. Would like to buy tiny cottage. House repairs, war-ravaged or neglected gardens tackled, etc. Late employer 19 years. All offers answered. Box 998.

MISCELLANEOUS

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SOVIET RUSSIA

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

shrunken zone of Western influence a vivid consciousness of the values which are its life. This is desperately difficult to do in Britain.

"The tragedy is that only those realize what oxygen means who have known the torture of suffocation; only those who have shared the life of an ordinary native in Nazi Germany or Stalinist Russia for at least a year know that disintegration of the human substance which befalls people deprived of our basic liberties. How many of us are capable of drawing comparisons? The English dockyard worker has not experienced the difference between risking for the same negligence a cut in pay or death as a saboteur. The English journalist does not know the difference between a limited freedom of expression and the status of a human teleprinter. The English high-brow, fed up with panel.

a statesman's cigar or a general's photomania, has no idea of the abject idocy of regimented Byzantine leader-worship. The English public, disgruntled but secure within the law, does not know the shivering insecurity, the naked horror of an autocratic police-State. They only know their own frustrations."

A new awareness of the preciousness of the Western values can become effective only through a spiritual renaissance of Socialism and Liberalism. So far the attitude of the progressive Press to the Russo-Polish conflict has been an uncanny replica of the Conservative attitude to the German-Czech conflict of 1939. "The new men of Munich are now on the Left."

The antidote

But now that the frontier of Soviet influence has moved so far to the West, the Soviet myth will gradually dissolve: in spite of the Chinese wall, knowledge of the Soviet reality will percolate. And there is a chance that a true Socialist movement will arise in Britain to be the inspiration of Western resistance. This is the only means by which the spreading of Russian pseudo-Communism over Europe may be stopped. "The antidote to Eastern Byzantinism is Western revolutionary humanism." The emergence of that depends on two processes: negative and positive.

"The weaning of the Left, the breaking-up of the false emotional compounds is one half of the task. The other half is the creating of a new fraternity in a new spiritual climate, whose leaders are tied by a vow of poverty to share the life of the masses, and debarred by the laws of the fraternity from obtaining unchecked power."

This is "the synthesis of saint and revolutionary" which, in his final chapter Koestler declares alone can save us, but, without a great change in the spiritual climate of the world, such a movement would be impotent against the concentrated power of the totalitarian State. To be effective it demands a spiritual renaissance of the masses. Koestler seems to think this probable, or at least possible, when the Soviet myth is destroyed, and when the energy and inspiration of the resistance movements breaks free of its false identification with Communist cynicism.

"Precisely that synthesis of saint and revolutionary modern pacifism claims, implicitly, to incorporate. Is its claim valid? I will try to discuss that in another article. In the meantime, I beg pacifists to read Koestler's book, with open hearts and minds.

We are glad to report that John Middleton Murry, Editor of Peace News, continues to make good progress after his operation, and hopes soon to resume his regular contributions and other editorial duties.

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Commentary ... by "Argus"

IT is becoming clear that the close of the European war has marked, not the end of the great crisis of the modern world, but of a single phase of it: perhaps only an early phase.

The crisis itself has often been described as the failure of the world's political and economic organization to ensure that the world's production is used to fulfil human needs. This aspect of it is particularly relevant. For the Allies' war aim was to destroy a German régime which set out to organise Europe as a single economic unit under German leadership.

The result has been achieved, and it cannot be described as other than chaos: material chaos—product of the war itself; and political chaos—the result of the absence of any unified plan for Europe.

Thus the one event of the moment that may interest the historian is the publication of the plan for carving up Germany into four zones of occupation. This, rather than who is fra-

"The inevitable result (of lack of co-ordination between the Allies) has been a tendency towards divergent decisions and policies in the different zones of occupation. This tendency will increase unless the situation is now regularized, and has implications reaching far beyond the limits of Germany itself; for a divided policy for Germany means in effect a divided Europe in which east and west are pursuing different aims through different channels. The interregnum in Germany cannot be prolonged without serious danger for the future." (The Times, June 4.)

Peril to Europe

FANTASTIC though it seems, it appears to be the fact that no attempt was made in advance to avoid this situation.

"My experience suggests that Military Government officers are each of them trying to carry out a Manual full of detailed regulations without any picture of an overall policy. But not one of the dozens with whom I have talked has the vaguest idea what the end result of it all is meant to be. Is Germany to be dismembered? Is there to be a Central German Government? What forces in Germany should replace Nazism and militarism? Will there be co-ordination between the four occupying Powers and if so, in what form? Every one of these questions, whichever way it is answered, vitally affects the work of every Military Government officer in Germany today." (R. H. S. Crossman, New Statesman, June 9.)

The economic problem alone is staggering. Maj.-Gen. Frank S. Ross, US Army Chief of Transportation in Europe, told a Washington Press conference on May 23 that it would take from six to eight months to rehabilitate Germany's transportation system to a degree sufficient to distribute "the bare necessities of life." Restoration of German heavy industry on the basis of a normal national economy, he added, would be the work of at least a generation; and the German transportation system "is in a state of complete paralysis." It would be a crowning piece of insanity to encourage the British to say "serve them right." The leading article in The Times, already quoted above, uttered a grave warning:

"... a Germany allowed to drift through sheer inertia and the absence of any policy further and further along the road towards economic chaos can only be a peril to Europe."

Coal and food

AN Evening Standard despatch (June 9) gave this specific example:

"The future of millions of people in Europe depends on how much coal we can get out of the Ruhr. Shortage of coal is the most serious problem in Europe. ... There will be great distress and privation unless the situation can be remedied before the winter."

No wonder (according to "Care-taker" in the News Chronicle, June 8) "the Anglo-American authorities are alarmed at the gigantic problem

C.O.s on bomb-disposal work

"Among Britain's war-time heroes are many men who were drafted into the Non-Combatant Corps after appearing before tribunals as conscientious objectors. I have learned from the War Office," wrote "The Stroller" in the Evening News, June 9.

"The NCC had a total strength of 3,375 men. Of this number 689 volunteered for the hazardous work of bomb disposal and 161 volunteered as parachutists with the RAMC."

The chaotic Continent

which is going to confront them this winter ...—and no wonder they are even relieved that Russia is to occupy an area west of the Elbe, on the grounds that the grain-growing areas in the east will put them in a better position to feed the inhabitants. Though this merely emphasizes the fact that Germany's western industrial regions will be artificially separated from those areas from which some of their food used to come.

Uniting the Slavs

THE political chaos is equally evident. "The collective identity of the German nation has been dissolved into nothingness," writes a Special Correspondent of the Economist (June 9) from Munich. The Control Council of the military leaders is, at present, not the centralized administration that is required. Their first meeting showed that they are held up by the lack of agreement between their governments.

But the Russians, at any rate, judging from their enterprise so far, will not lack a policy for their zone. And we may guess that it will fit in with their national aim—described by Ernst Klein in the current issue of The Fortnightly, as "the foundation of a pan-Slavonic bloc."

"Taking into account the lessons of the last war she (Russia) strives to surround this bloc with a Cordon Sanitaire of her own making, that is, a belt formed by non-Slavonic States whose governments are composed in such a manner that they guarantee the safety of Russia's bloc against any anti-Slavonic successor."

The Moscow correspondent of the New Statesman (June 9) confirms this:

"... on this Slav question the Russians hold very strong views now. They are determined there shall be no interference with the unity of the Slav nations: Slavs of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia."

The projected expulsion of even anti-Nazis from the Sudetenland is an unhappy example of how far even Czechoslovakia has accepted the idea.

Seen in the light of this trend, our lack of foresight in the west may prove disastrous. We have capped non-fraternization with the politically stupid—and morally wicked—execution of German boys of 16 and 17. If such mistakes continue through a winter of cold and hunger, and there continue to filter through to the western zones stories of how much better conditions are under the Russians, the western Allies will find themselves dealing with a docile population no longer. The political consequences would be far-reaching.

"In the absence of an assured inter-Allied rule over the whole of Germany, the assignment of Central Germany west of the Elbe would ... take on a new significance. It might well be a step towards the eventual reunification of Germany under Russian leadership. And that is a prospect not to be lightly viewed." ("Student of Europe," The Observer, June 10.)

'Frisco reprieve

THE world-wide relief which has greeted the last-minute reprieve of the San Francisco conference is perhaps more encouraging than the "formula-finding" which actually resolved the deadlock. Both phenomena deserve more than a backward glance.

What is genuinely encouraging is the deep sense of responsibility with which the world statesmen have gone into the 'Frisco conference. "This is our last chance" has become something of a password among them; however much we may fear that the policies they are pursuing will militate against the development of a peaceful world, we must at least give full credit for this recognition of urgency.

It would have been tragic if the conference had packed up in futility before it had even agreed on the framework of the new organization. It is, of course, possible that out of utter failure some hitherto undiscernible impulse would have stirred the nations towards a second attempt. It is possible: but it is much more likely that the great power-groups would have accepted the inevitability of a future world-war and have busied

themselves behind strategic frontiers with preparedness for it.

Yet the conference did come horribly near to such a catastrophe. It was only saved at the last minute by Russia, who had put up the price after the Yalta compromise, reducing it again in the matter of the precise "shading" of veto-power. So changed is the atmosphere by this accommodation that the averting of defeat wears the appearance of a great victory.

This is almost reminiscent of the Ministry of Information's brilliant handling of the Dunkirk news, when the public, who had expected nothing more than utter rout, were soon hailing Dunkirk so victoriously that Mr. Churchill had to remind them that wars were not won by retreats, however brilliant.

The veto-power

SOMETHING of the same sort appears to be happening about the reprieve at San Francisco. The Manchester Guardian (June 9) tries bravely to put the matter in perspective:

"Even at this roseate moment one is forced to point out that the heroine who has been saved by such exertions is of somewhat diminutive stature. Disputes may be freely discussed and 'informally' examined, but the Great Powers will retain their right to veto 'formal' inquiries, recommendations for peaceful settlement, and, of course, all decisions involving the use of force."

The veto-power is, clearly, incompatible with any abstract standard of international justice. But is that the realistic test? Equally clearly, neither Russia nor the USA could have been tempted into an international organization on terms which would have taken their power to go to war out of their hands. Given those hard facts, the obvious way forward (as the smaller nations realize) is to make the "United Nations" comprehensive at the outset, however low the highest common factor needs to be reduced.

Once the only two Powers capable of sustaining a full-scale war are inside the organization improvements and amendments are possible. The most hopeful and progressive tendencies which emerge will merit encouragement. The habit of working together may itself break down some tough barriers. At all events, if there is any genuine will for international co-operation the machinery is there for its expression. But if the "war-Powers" are not in at the start, what reason is there to suppose they will ever come in?

International organization is, for the moment, primarily a matter of buying time. How the atmosphere may have cleared in one or five years nobody can estimate with any certainty. But as long as there is any hope of a radical change of attitude on the part of one of the great Powers it would be criminal folly to throw away the machinery which may keep them from drifting completely apart during their post-war phase of exuberant nationalism. But it would be equal folly for anyone to encourage the notion that the job of creating international order will soon have been completed; it will scarcely have begun.

Land training scheme

On Nov. 16 last the Minister of Agriculture outlined the general principles of a training scheme on the land for those "released from war service" including training facilities for those with experience on the land who want to qualify as foremen, bailiffs, and farm managers. Details of the scheme were given in the OBCO Bulletin for January: While not every CO will be eligible under the scheme, the Central Board for COs has been assured by the Ministry of Labour and Fisheries that no applicant who is otherwise eligible and suitable for assistance under the scheme will be rejected on account of the fact that he happens to be a CO.

TO CONTRIBUTORS

On a single day last week we received seven manuscripts—six of them full-length articles, and all with some claim to publication in Peace News. Yet it is hardly ever possible to publish more than two such issues. The percentage of our normal 4-page issues. The percentage of rejections is, consequently, usually high.

We do not wish to discourage potential contributors, but we would point out that although the normal maximum length for articles is 800 words, the possibility of publication is often greater if they are kept within 500.

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